THE BLACK PANTHER

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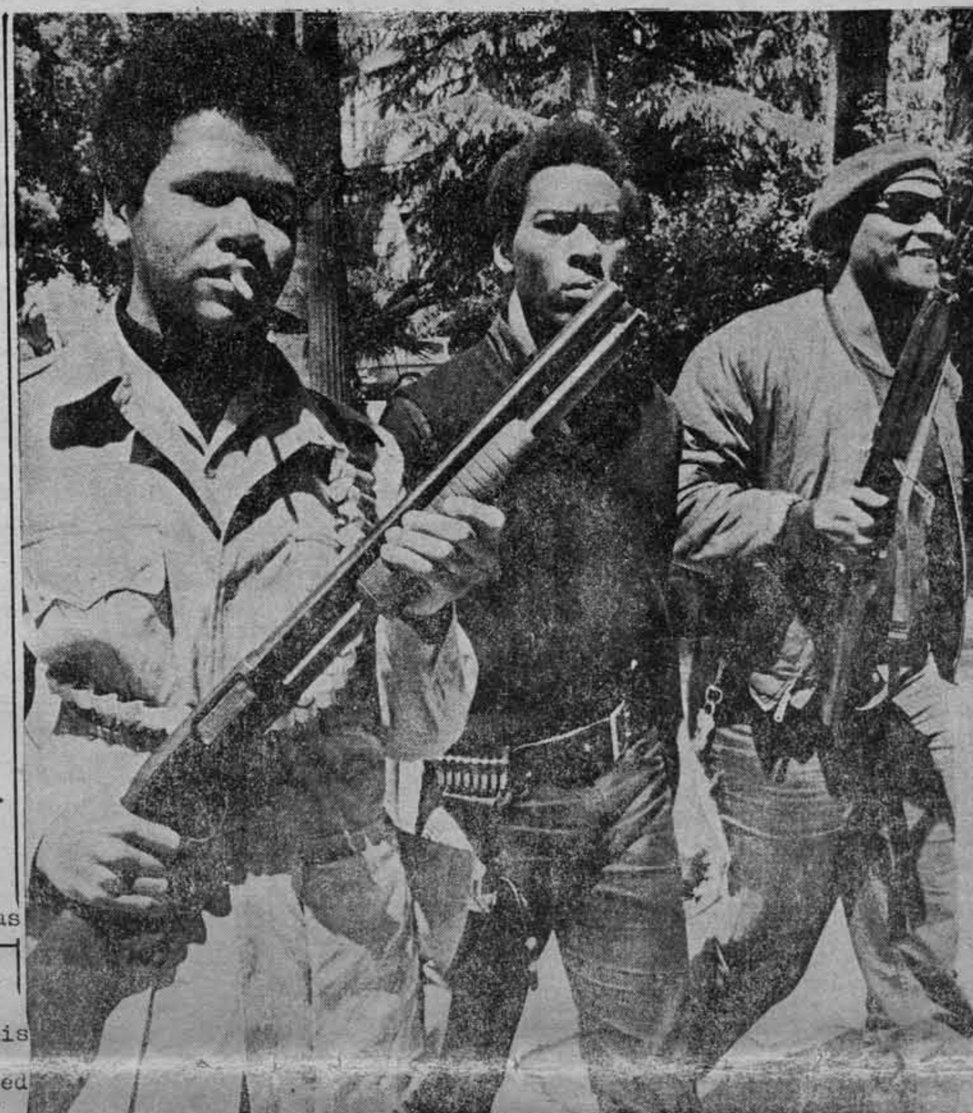
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The Truth About SACRAMENTO

To get a clear picture of the significance of Black Panther day - May 2, 1967 -we will quickly run it down, since the mass media has indulged itself in an orgy of distortion, lying, and misrepresentation seldom equaled in the history of racist U.S.A. Uniformly, the mass media has refused to report the chain of events that led up to the visit of the Black Panthers to the capitol.

April 1, 1967, Denzil Dowell, age 22, was killed by a racist cop on the Contra Costa Sheriff's Department force. The press has repreatedly failed to incorporate the outrage experienced in the black community with the subsequent actions of the Black Panther Party. The facts of Denzil's murder, as prepared by the Dowell's attorney, are as follows: 1) The doctor on the case told the relatives that Denzil must have been shot with his hands raised. 2) The cornor's report stated there were 6 bullet holes, while the newspapers called the Richmond Independent said there were only 3 bullet holes. White America appears content as a whole to buy the Three Bullet Theory in the Kennedy murder, but black people will not buy the Three Bullet Theory in the Denzil Dowell murder. 3) The Cornor said that death was due to bleeding, yet no blood was found at the site of the body. The Dowell family was denied the right to take pictures of the body, or to this day both the Richmond police and Martinez police have refused to return Denzil's clothes for further necessary evidence pertinent to the findings. No clearer case of unjustifiable homicide exists. No entry had been made into the building that the killer-cop assumed Denzil had robbed. Denzil had a hip injury which the cop was aware of, as he had arrested him before. Denzil did not have a gun, and this could have been detected by a trained protector of society. So how could 6 bullets have ever been justifiable?

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THESE ARE THREE OF THE TWENTY-THREE COURAGEOUS BROTHERS AT THE CAPITOL. THEY ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SPIRIT OF 67. "BE RIGHTEOUSLY ARMED AND READY FOR ACTION."

TO BLOODS

If any cop brutalizes you or violates your Human Rights, beats you, threatens you, or tries to intimidate you, please, please, please, get his picture or his name if he is civilized enough to give it to you; or get his badge number. As soon as you get all this information, turn it over to the Black Panther Party for Self Defense and the Party will deal with it in an appropriate manner.

TO COPS

We don't like the way you cops have been misusing the law and mistreating the people. You are civil servants, which means that the people - all the people - have delegated to you the task of securing the people in the daily exercise of their rights. For example: the function of removing waste material from our commodes was delegated by the people to those we call

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FOREFRONT, TREASURER AND CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE OF B.P.P.S.D.



THE WHITE COMMUNITY



TO RACIST SHERIFF YOUNGER DENZIL DOWELL IS JUST ANOTHER DEAD NIGGER.

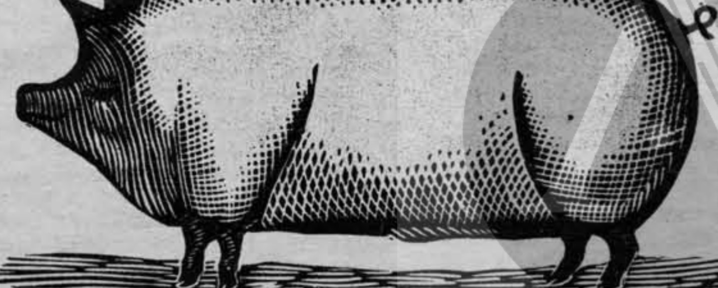


THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Statement BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE TO THE BLACK WORLD

Below is the statement prepared by Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, and delivered by Bobby Seale, Chairman, of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, May 2, 1967, at the state capitol in Sacramento, California. When this statement is read carefully, it becomes obvious that all that is here is TRUTH. Knowing full well they were legally exercising their constitutional rights, the Panthers made fools of the cops who tried to take the guns away from them, and suffered the humiliation of having to give them right back. The dumb Capitol cops didn't even know their own gun laws.

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SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE

STATEMENT BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE
(continued from page 1)

Three blocks away from the capitol, the scurvy cops of Sacramento moved in and made the false arrest. This is what happens to Black men when they have not broken a law.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE CALLS UPON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN GENERAL AND THE BLACK PEOPLE IN PARTICULAR TO TAKE CAREFUL NOTE OF THE RACIST CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE WHICH IS NOW CONSIDERING LEGISLATION AIMED AT KEEPING THE BLACK PEOPLE DISARMED AND POWERLESS AT THE VERY SAME TIME THAT RACIST POLICE AGENCIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ARE INTENSIFYING THE TERROR, BRUTALITY, MURDER AND REPRESSION OF BLACK PEOPLE.

AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IS WAGING A RACIST WAR OF GENOCIDE IN VIETNAM, THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS* IN WHICH JAPANESE AMERICANS WERE INTERNED DURING WORLD WAR TWO ARE BEING RENOVATED AND EXPANDED. SINCE AMERICA HAS HISTORICALLY RESERVED THE MOST BARBARIC TREATMENT FOR NON-WHITE PEOPLE, WE ARE FORCED TO CONCLUDE THAT THESE CONCENTRATION CAMPS ARE BEING PREPARED FOR BLACK PEOPLE WHO ARE DETERMINED TO GAIN THEIR FREEDOM BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY. THE ENSLAVEMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF THIS COUNTRY, THE GENOCIDE PRACTICED ON THE AMERICAN INDIANS AND THE CONFINING OF THE SURVIVORS ON RESERVATIONS, THE SAVAGE LYNCHING OF THOUSANDS OF BLACK MEN AND WOMEN, THE DROPPING OF ATOMIC BOMBS ON HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI, AND NOW THE COWARDLY MASSACRE IN VIETNAM, ALL TESTIFY TO THE FACT THAT TOWARDS PEOPLE OF COLOR THE RACIST POWER STRUCTURE OF AMERICA HAS BUT ONE POLICY: REPRESSION, GENOCIDE, TERROR, AND THE BIG STICK.

BLACK PEOPLE HAVE BEGGED, PRAYED, PETITIONED, DEMONSTRATED AND EVERYTHING ELSE TO GET THE RACIST POWER STRUCTURE OF AMERICA TO RIGHT THE WRONGS WHICH HAVE HISTORICALLY BEEN PERPETRATED AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE. ALL OF THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED BY MORE REPRESSION, DECEIT, AND HYPOCRISY. AS THE AGRESSION OF THE RACIST AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ESCALATES IN VIETNAM, THE POLICE AGENCIES OF AMERICA ESCALATE THE REPRESSION OF BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE GHETTOS OF AMERICA. VICIOUS POLICE DOGS, CATTLE PRODS AND INCREASED PATROLS HAVE BECOME FAMILIAR SIGHTS IN BLACK COMMUNITIES. CITY HALL TURNS A DEAF EAR TO THE PLEAS OF BLACK PEOPLE FOR RELIEF FROM THIS INCREASING TERROR.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE BELIEVES THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR BLACK PEOPLE TO ARM THEMSELVES AGAINST THIS TERROR BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. THE PENDING MULFORD ACT BRINGS THE HOUR OF DOOM ONE STEP NEARER. A PEOPLE WHO HAVE SUFFERED SO MUCH FOR SO LONG AT THE HANDS OF A RACIST SOCIETY, MUST DRAW THE LINE SOMEWHERE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE BLACK COMMUNITIES OF AMERICA MUST RISE UP AS ONE MAN TO HALT THE PROGRESSION OF A TREND THAT LEADS INEVITABLY TO THEIR TOTAL DESTRUCTION.

HUEY P. NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE

* See "Concentration Camps U.S.A." by Charles R. Allen, Jr. and "American Concentration Camps" by Boswell.

TO RACIST COPS
(continued from page 1)

'plumbers'. Others have been delegated the responsibility of carrying off our refuse, and we call them 'garbage men'. People we have hired to deliver our mail are called 'mailmen'. You have been hired by the people to keep the peace. It is your duty to go about your work in a manner least likely to displease your employers and calculated to make the people feel justified in continuing to carry you on the public payroll. But because you have grossly defiled the very name - Peace Officer - by which you are known, you have become the enemy of the people; you have become a cancerous growth on the body politic. You have an image that strikes terror into the hearts of those who buy your bread, pay your rent, and feed your children. You have become a problem that must be solved. The BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE has been summoned by the crys and suffering and pain of the people. We are here to civilize you. We are here to teach you how to love and serve the people with a humble and faithful attitude consistent with your status. We are going to do the job whether you like it or not. You probably won't like it because you are too sadistic in your lust to shed the people's blood; you have become insensitive even to the dying pleas of a child you have just shot down with your vicious service revolver. The BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE is here to shield the people from your insanity and thirst for blood.

You have made yourself the people's master; you have elevated yourself unwarrantedly.



18 BLACK PANTHERS AFTER ARRAIGNMENT IN SACRAMENTO MUNICIPAL COURT BUILDING

HELP US HELP YOU

Dig, Brothers & Sisters:

By this time you must have heard about that scene we put down in Sacramento. If you haven't heard, then the bag you are in is so outofsight that you are hard to deal with. Anyway, 23 members of our organization got framed up on some chickenshit charges and the man- your enemy -is out to do our organization under. One of the guiding principles of our organization is that we believe in going all out to rescue our brothers from the clutches of the racist cops. So we moved rapidly to get them out on bail, even though we had to get them out on credit.

Now we want to fight this case and win it. And we want to keep all the brothers out on bail. We believe that this case should be fought hard because it is going to help us snatch the covers off of the racist police. To do this, we need money. So we know damn well that you've got some bread. You certainly will be capable of putting down a hustle. What may be harder for you is to give up your hard-hustled coins to a bunch of cats whom you may think arn't hitting on anything. We can dig that. But can you dig this: the racist police will blow your head off and then all his brothers and two or three Uncle Toms will get together and rule it justifiable homicide. This just happened to a brother last month over in Richmond. We think we know how to put an end to that bullshit. At least we are willing to give it a try. So why don't you send us some bread so that we can afford to continue our work. We are not jiving and you should understand that. Get all your soul brothers and sisters together and make them give up some

D A M N   V I E T N A M

Mark Comfort, our great fighter for the rights of black people, is now in jail as a result of one battle for human rights, and awaiting trial on another. He has recorded a song against the war in Vietnam to help raise mongy for his defense. The 45 record sells for $1.25. Order now- make checks payable to Mark Comfort Defense Fund, and mail to 6914 Lockwood St., Oakland, Calif. 94621.

GEORGE DOWELL, RICH.

George Dowell, brother of the murdered Denzil Dowell, gave the Panthers the following interview. George is the captain of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense of Richmond.

Q. How did you hear about the Black Panther Party for Self Defense?

A. Mark Comfort told me that the Panthers were a group interested in the problems black people have with police brutality. My brother was killed by a cop and nothing had been done by the city officials when we asked for an investigation. My sister Ruby called Minister of Defense Huey Newton and they came right over to a meeting at Neighborhood House. The next day Chairman Bobby Seale and some more Panthers came over and ran their own investigation at the site of my brother's death.

Q. How did you feel about the Panthers?

A. I was really impressed. They made me feel like they were really interested in the people and they knew what they were doing. They were the first group I ever seen that have the law down pat. People like support; you know, everyone needs someone and the Panthers give the people the kind of help and advice that gets results. Most of the time, when you join a club and if something happens they wouldn't do anything in a case like a person's brother being killed. When I listened to Huey and Bobby talk I could tell that they were talking from their hearts. A person can tell when another person is telling the truth and that's what all our people been waiting to hear. When my family and I saw that the Panthers were a determined group, that they didn't just come once and never come back, I joined the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. I feel like a man and now I'm acting like a man. I have always had a feeling of wanting to do something for my people and working with a group that I know is working for the people is a dream fulfilled for me. I know the people of Richmond feel this way too. Like I said, when a person hears Huey Newton, the Minister of Defense, talk, you know he wouldn't tell you wrong. When some men shout they may rally a crowd but whatthe shouter is saying dont last; people lose it. The way the Panthers speak is honest and what they are saying makes sense. Something lifts inside you and you are proud. I'll tell you one thing that bothers me is when I talk to a man that won't do his part and I am supposed to protect him. I know I have to be patient, but I believe every man should do his part. This is a organization that everyone can belong to, you can talk and Panthers listen, you have something to do and you can see something getting done.

Q. How did you feel going to the Capitol?

A. I felt great because I was part of something that had never been done before. I felt good because I knew I wasn't breaking any law. Now they know that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense wants to be equal. We don't nothing more and we aren't taking nothing less. We are tired of police brutality. We want something done about it. If they won't do something we will. I know going to the Capitol was a big step and the Panthers made the first step. If we hadn't done that first step our people would still be wishing. The Panthers took the first in my brother's investigation and the first to show the world that black people need protection and we have never had it. That's why we are arming to protect ourselves. We are just tired of living like this. We want freedom now. I hope it won't come to bloodshed but if it does and if I die, I'll know I did my part. That's a good feeling because up till now there haven't been too many

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MINISTER OF DEFENSE

FUNCTIONAL DEFINITION OF POLITICS.

BY HUEY P. NEWTON

Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed. Politics has its particular characteristics which differentiate it from war. When the peaceful means of politics are exhausted and the people do not get what they want, politics are continued. Usually it ends up in physical conflict which is called war, which is also political.

Because we lack political power, black people are not free. Black reconstruction failed because black people did not have political and military power. The masses of black people at the time were very clear on the definition of political power. It is evident in the songs of black people at that time. In the songs it was stated that on the Day of Jubilee we'd have forty acres and two mules. This was promised black people by the Freedman's Bureau. This was freedom as far as the black masses were concerned.

The Talented Tenth at the time viewed freedom as operative in the political arena. Black people did operate in the political arena during reconstruction. They were more educated than most of the whites in the south. They had been educated in France, Canada and England, and were very qualified to serve in the political arena. But yet, Black Reconstruction failed.

When one operates in the political arena, it is assumed that he has power or represents

(continued on page 4)



HUEY P. NEWTON

FEAR AND DOUBT

BY HUEY P. NEWTON

The lower socio-economic BLACK male is a man of confusion. He faces a hostile environment and is not sure that it is not his own sins that have attracted the hostilities of society. All his life he has been taught (explicitly and implicitly) that he is an inferior approximation of humanity. As a man, he finds himself void of those things that bring respect and a feeling of worthiness. He looks around for something to blame for his situation, but because he is not sophisticated regarding the socio-economic millieu and because of negativistic parental and institutional teachings he ultimately blames himself. When he was a child, his parents told him that they were not affluent because "we didn't have the opportunity to become educated", or "we did not take advantage of the educational opportunities that were offered us". They tell the child that things will be different for him if he is educated and skilled, but there is absolutely nothing other than this occassional warning (and often not even this) to stimulate education. BLACK people are great worshippers of education, even the lower socio-economic BLACK person, but at the same time he is afraid to expose himself to it. he is afraid because he is vulnerable to having his fears verified; perhaps he will find that he can't compete with white students. He tells himself that he could have done it if he had really wanted to. The fact is, of course, that the assumed ecucational oppor-

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WHAT WE WANT NOW! WHAT WE BELIEVE

TO THOSE POOR SOULS WHO DON'T KNOW BLACK HISTORY, THE BELIEFS AND DESIRES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE MAY SEEM UNREASONABLE. TO BLACK PEOPLE, THE TEN POINTS COVERED ARE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO SURVIVAL. WE HAVE LISTENED TO THE RIOT PRODUCING WORDS "THESE THINGS TAKE TIME" FOR 400 YEARS. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY KNOWS WHAT BLACK PEOPLE WANT AND NEED. BLACK UNITY AND SELF DEFENSE WILL MAKE THESE DEMANDS A REALITY.

WHAT WE WANT

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

2.WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

3.WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR SHELTER HUMAN BEINGS.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

6. WE WANT ALL BLACK MEN TO BE EXEMPT FROM MILITARY SERVICE.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.

8. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK MEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.

9. WE WANT ALL BLACK PEOPLE WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR PEOPLE FROM THEIR BLACK COMMUNITIES. AS DEFINED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE AND PEACE.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FREE UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.

2. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS RESPONSIBLE AND OBLIGATED TO GIVE EVERY MAN EMPLOYMENT OR A GUARANTEED INCOME. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN WILL NOT GIVE FULL EMPLOYMENT, THEN THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION SHOULD BE TAKEN FROM THE BUSINESS MEN AND PLACED IN THE COMMUNITY SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY CAN ORGANIZE AND EMPLOY ALL OF ITS PEOPLE AND GIVE A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING.

3. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS RACIST GOVERNMENT HAS ROBBED US AND NOW WE ARE DEMANDING THE OVERDUE DEBT OF FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES. FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES WAS PROMISED 100 YEARS AGO AS RETRIBUTION FOR SLAVE LABOR AND MASS MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WILL ACCEPT THE PAYMENT IN CURRENCY WHICH WILL BE DISTRIBUTED TO OUR MANY COMMUNITIES. THE GERMANS ARE NOW AIDING THE JEWS IN ISRAEL FOR THE GENOCIDE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. THE GERMANS MURDERED 6,000,000 JEWS. THE AMERICAN RACIST HAS TAKEN PART IN THE SLAUGHTER OF OVER 50,000,000 BLACK PEOPLE; THEREFORE, WE FEEL THAT THIS IS A MODEST DEMAND THAT WE MAKE.

4. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE LANDLORDS WILL NOT GIVE DECENT HOUSING TO OUR BLACK COMMUNITY, THEN THE HOUSING AND THE LAND SHOULD BE MADE INTO COOPERATIVES SO THAT OUR COMMUNITY, WITH GOVERNMENT AID, CAN BUILD AND MAKE DECENT HOUSING FOR ITS PEOPLE.

5. WE BELIEVE IN AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THAT WILL GIVE TO OUR PEOPLE A KNOWLEDGE OF SELF. IF A MAN DOES NOT HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF HIMSELF AND HIS POSITION IN SOCIETY AND THE WORLD, THEN HE HAS LITTLE CHANCE TO RELATE TO ANYTHING ELSE.

6. WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO FIGHT IN THE MILITARY SERVICE TO DEFEND A RACIST GOVERNMENT THAT DOES NOT PROTECT US. WE WILL NOT FIGHT AND KILL OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR IN THE WORLD WHO, LIKE BLACK PEOPLE, ARE BEING VICTIMIZED BY THE WHITE RACIST GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA. WE WILL PROTECT OURSELVES FROM THE FORCE AND VIOLENCE OF THE RACIST POLICE AND THE RACIST MILITARY, BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY.

7. WE BELIEVE WE CAN END POLICE BRUTALITY IN OUR BLACK COMMUNITY BY ORGANIZING BLACK SELF DEFENSE GROUPS THAT ARE DEDICATED TO DEFENDING OUR BLACK COMMUNITY FROM RACIST POLICE OPPRESSION AND BRUTALITY. THE SECOND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES GIVESUS A RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES FOR SELF DEFENSE.

8. WE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD BE RELEASED FROM THE MANY JAILS AND PRISONS BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT RECEIVED A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL TRIAL.

9. WE BELIEVE THAT THE COURTS SHOULD FOLLOW THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION SO THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL RECEIVE FAIR TRIALS. THE 14TH AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION GIVES A MAN A RIGHT TO BE TRIED BY HIS PEER GROUP. A PEER IS A PERSON FROM A SIMILAR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, GEOGRAPHICAL, ENVIRONMENTAL, HISTORICAL AND RACIAL BACKGROUND. TO DO THIS THE COURT WILL BE FORCED TO SELECT A JURY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY FROM WHICH THE BLACK DEFENDANT CAME. WE HAVE BEEN, AND ARE BEING TRIED BY ALL WHITE JURIES THAT HAVE NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE "AVERAGE REASONING MAN" OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

10. WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BONDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSUME AMONG THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND NATURE"S GOD ENTITLE THEM, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO SEPARATION.
WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED, - THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS.

PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES; AND ACCORDINGLY ALL EXPERIENCE HATH SHEWN, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSE TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUFFERABLE, THAN TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. BUT WHEN A LONG TRAIN OF ABUSES AND USURPATIONS, PURSUING INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT, EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.

"THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY"
HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, B.P.P.S.D.

FEAR AND DOUBT
(continued from page)

tunities were never available to the lower socio-economic BLACK person due to the unique position assigned him in life.

It is a two headed monster that haunts this man. First, his attitude is that he lacks innate ability to cope with the socio-economic problems confronting him, and secondly, he tells himself that he has the ability but he simply has not felt strongly enough to try to acquire the skills needed to manipulate his environment. In a desperate effort to assume self-respect, he rationalizes that he is lethargic; in this way he denies a possible lack of innate ability. If he openly attempts to discover his abilities, he and others may see him for what he is- or is not, and this is the real fear. He then withdraws into the world of the invisible, but not without a struggle. He may attempt to make himself visible by processing his hair, acquiring a "boss mop", or driving a long car, even though he can't afford it. He may father several illegitimate children by several different women in order to display his masculinity But in the end, he realizes that he is ineffectual in his efforts Society responds to him as a thing, a beast, a non-entity, something to be ignored or stepped on. He is asked to respect laws that do not respect him. He is asked to digest a code of ethics that act upon him but not for him. He is confused and in a constant state of rage, of shame and doubt. This psychological set permeates all his interpersonal relationships. It determines his view of the social system. His psychosocial development has been prematurely arrested. This doubt begins at a very early age and continues through life. The parents pass it on to the child and the social system reinforces the fear, the shame, and the doubt. In the third or fourth grade, he may find that he shares the classroom with white students, but when the class is engaged in reading exercises, all the BLACK students find themselves in a group at the table reserved for slow readers. This may be quite an innocent effort on the part of the school system: the teacher may not realize that the BLACK students feared (in fact feel certain) that BLACK means dumb and white means smart. The children do not realize that the head start the white children got at home is what accounts for the situation. It is generally accepted that the child is the father of the man; this holds true for the lower socio-economic BLACK people.

With whom, with what can he as a man identify? As a child he had no permanent male figure with whom to identify; as a man he sees nothing in society with which he can identify as an extension of himself. His life is built on mistrust, shame, doubt, guilt, inferiority, role confusion, isolation and despair. He feels that he is something less than a man, as is evident in his conversation: the white man is "THE MAN", he got everything, and he knows everything, and a nigger ain't nothing." In a society where a man is valued according to occupation and material possession, he is without possessions. He is unskilled and more often than not either marginally employed or unemployed. Often his wife (who is able to secure a job as a maid cleaning for white people) is the breadwinner. He is, therefore, viewed as quite worthless by his wife and children. He is ineffectual both in and outside the home. He cannot provide for or protect his family. He is invisible, a non-entity. Society will not acknowledge him as a man. He is a consumer and not a producer. He is dependent upon the white man ("THE MAN") to feed his family, to give him a job, to educate his children, to serve as the model that he tries to emulate. He is dependent and he hates "THE MAN", and he hates himself. Who is he? Is he a very old adolescent or is he the slave he used to be? What did he do to be so BLACK and blue?

THE FUNCTIONAL DEFINITION OF POLITICS
(Cont'd from page)

power; he is symbolic of a powerful force. There are approximately three areas of power in the political area: economic power, land power (feudal power) and military power. If black people at the time had received 40 acres and 2 mules, we would have developed a powerful force. Then we would have chosen a representative to represent us in this political arena. Because black people did not receive the 40 acres and 2 mules, it was absurd to have a representative in the political arena.

When white people send a representative into the political arena, they have a power force or power base that they represent. When white people, through their representatives, do not get what they want, there is always a political consequence. This is evident in the fact that when the farmers are not given an adequate price for their crops the economy will recieve a political consequence. They will let their crops rot in the field; they will not cooperate with other sectors of the economy. To be political, you must have a political consequence when you do not receive your desires - otherwise you are non-political.

When black people send a representative, he is somewhat absurd because he represents no political power. He does not represent land power because we do not own any land. He does not represent economic or industrial power because black people do not own the means of production. The only way he can become political is to represent what is commonly called a military power- which the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE calls Self-Defense Power. Black People can develop Self-Defense Power by arming themselves from house to house, block to block, community to community, throughout the nation. Then we will choose a political representative and he will state to the power structure the desires of the black masses. If the desires are not met, the power structure will receive a political consequence. We will make it economically non-profitable for the power structure to go on with its oppressive ways. We will then negotiate as equals. There will be a balance between the people who are economically powerful and the people who are potentially economically destructive.

The white racist oppresses black people not only for racist reasons but because it is also economically profitable to do so. Black people must develop a power that will make it non-profitable for racists to go on oppressing us. If the white racist imperialists in America continue to wage war against all people of color throughout the world and also wage a civil war against blacks here in America, it will be economically impossible for him to survive. We must develop a strategy that will make his war campaigns non-profitable. This racist United States operates with the motive of profit. He lifts the gun and escalates the war for profit reasons. We will make him lower the guns because they will no longer serve his profit motive.

Every man is born, therefore he has a right to live, a right to share in the wealth. If he is denied the right to work then he is denied the right to live. If he can't work, he deserves a high standard of living, regardless of his education or skill. It should be up to the administrators of the economic system to design a program for providing work or livelihood for his people. To deny a man this is to deny him life. The controllers of the economic system are obligated to furnish each man with a livelihood.

(continued from column two)

If they cannot do this or if they will not do this, they do not deserve the position of administrators. The means of production should be taken away from them and placed in the people's hands, so that the people can organize them in such a way as to provide themselves with a livelihood. The people will choose capable administrators motivated by their sincere interest in the people's welfare and not the interest of private property. The people will choose managers to control the means of production and the land that is rightfully theirs. Until the people control the land and the means of production, there will be no peace. Black people must control the destiny of their community.

Because black people desire to determine their own destiny, they are constantly inflicted with brutality from the occupying army, embodied in the police department. There is a great similarity between the occupying army in Southeast Asia and the occupation of our communities by the racist police. The armies are there not to protect the people of South Vietnam, but to brutalize and oppress them for the interests of the selfish imperial power.

The police should be the people of the community in uniform. There should be no division or conflict of interest between the people and the police. Once there is a division, then the police become the enemy of the people. The police should serve the interest of the people, and be one and the same. When this principle breaks down, then the police become an occupying army. When historically one race has oppressed another and policemen are recruited from the oppressor race to patrol the communities of the oppressed people, an intolerable contradiction exists.

The racist dog policemen must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of black people, or face the wrath of the armed people.

TO RACIST COPS
(Continued from page)

But we will see to it that you are brought up to the level of men.

Justice is on our side. You have abandoned the law. You have transformed the law into a snare in which the people stumble. You are a peace-breaker, an outlaw - you have become Public Enemy Number One and it is a policy of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE to deal with first things first.

by PANTERA FURANGA

GEORGE DOWELL
(continued from page 2)

men or women that could say that.

Q. What kind of things have you been doing since you joined the Party?

A. I have been raising money for the Panther Defense Fund, telling people why we have to pay that $5000.00 bail because we were not guilty of breaking any law. I go to the churches and tell them that the Panthers are the answer to their prayers. If you want a tree cut down you may ask God to help you but you have to get out there and cut it yourself. I also tell the people that Panthers can't break the law and we're going into every city to make sure the cops don't either. I would never break the laws of the Panther Party but to be honest with you I hate the cop that killed my brother bad enough to kill him. I know one thing, he better not kill another black brother.

STATEMENT ON BLACK UNITY

by



WARREN TUCKER

My name is Warren Tucker. I am a Captain in the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense. I know you've heard everybody talk about unity; talking about 'we got to get together'. Well, as for myself, I got sick and tired of hearing people talking about that word. I guess I never knew what the word really meant, and cared less, because I was too busy trying to make it in this white world. But, Sisters and Brothers, I know what it means now. What the B.P.P.F.S.D. did and accomplished at the State Capitol showed me what the word meant. Brothers and Sisters, I don't know of any way to express how proud I was and still am and always will be. I'll try to give you a run-down.

As we walked up the steps of the Capitol Building, I glanced at each Brother. They were all prepared for the worse, but they stuck together. They had such beautiful unity.

As we left the building, Bobby Hutton, Treasurer of our organization, and myself escorted Bobby Seale, Chairman, to the car. I felt Unity and I must say I felt good. When we stopped at a gas station and the cops came, all the Brothers spreaded out and got a good position. I placed myself on the corner, so when the cops came across to us I would get behind them so I had a shot at all of them. All of us were united in a common goal, for Self-Defense.

After we were arrested, booked and finger printed, we were all put into the Drunk Tank, a large room with nothing in it but US. No bed, no blankets, nothing. This kind of treatment you expect from the racist dog. Then the beast called us out, one by one, to make a statement, but all the brothers told the racist dog to go to HELL. This is what I call BLACK UNITY.

When we were released, all of us walked out of the jail with our heads held high and proud of what we had done. This I call BLACK POWER. Unity, my Brothers and Sisters, is whats happening.

Sincerely yours,

Warren Tucker

TRUTH ON SACRAMENTO

(Continued from page 1.)

If no bullets were fired in self defense?

The Black Panther Party was called into Richmond by the family. There we found that the Dowell family had gathered 1200 signatures on a petition which called for a Grand Jury investigation.

Tuesday, April 18, the Black Panthers went armed to see the Richmond D.A., Nejedly. We voiced our grievances and he said he would do all he could to set up an investigation. He also said he would recommend to Sheriff Young of Martinez that he remove the killer-cop from the force until the investigation was over.

On April 19, the Black Panthers and concerned citizens went to have a meeting with Sheriff Young and Undersheriff Ramsey. The Sheriff had agreed to this meeting, but refused to allow Panthers into his office with guns. Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, agreed to talk with the Sheriff without guns present, because it was more important to demonstrate to this racist Sheriff that the Panthers are willing to exhaust all available legal channels in an attempt to give the Dowell family visible support.

This meeting ended in frustration, as Sheriff Young refused to remove the killer-cop pending investigation. He also refused to give any assurance whatsoever to the black community that he would exercise his exclusive authority to adopt the policy that members of the police force be instructed to refrain from killing suspects when only property is involved in a suspected robbery. The citizens and the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense saw this refusal as total lack of concern for black people expressing a desire to guard against more unwarranted deaths.

Undersheriff Ramsey then made two ridiculous statements. First he said, "I don't know why you're so upset - this is the first death we've had in the county." Secondly, Ramsey said, "If you people want the policy changed you should go through the Legislature." This is exactly. This is exactly what the Black Panthers did. Yet, in the assembly, Undersheriff Ramsey spoke in favor of the Mulford gun bill. This time he said,"This kind of legislation will be necessary because first they were in Martinez with guns, causing a disturbance; today they're here and who knows where they will show up next."He had forgotten his own advice.

Contrary to what the newspapers have reported, the Black Panthers were escorted to the Assembly hall by a horde of T.V. men with cameras, and the Capitol police. There is an observer box in the Assembly and it was to this area that the Panthers, the members of the Dowell family, and the concerned citizens were directed.

The first words that came from the Assembly speaker's microphone were, "Will the guards please remove those TV camera from this Assembly!" If it was the men with guns who upseat the Assembly, then the first words coming from the speaker should have been, "Will the men with the weapons please remove themselves from the Assembly."

NEGROES WITH GUNS! That was the only issue at the Capitol. The antique racists in the power structure were 'disturbed' not because of any overt or threatening action by the Black Panthers; they were disturbed by their own guilt-ridden white racist psyches in which they suffer nightmares of the armed masses someday rushing in upon them while they are in the act of plotting their characteristic assaults upon the Life, Liberty, and Pursuit of Happiness of the people. In the crags of their brains, they know that they fully deserve the full wrath of the people.

To these 'disturbed' gentlemen, Negroes and Guns just don't go together. This reaction was similar to that of white America generally to the slogan of BLACK POWER. The logic of the racist just can't put those two words together. Were someone to raise the slogan, BLACK WEAKNESS, it would appear very logical and acceptable to racists. So would the headline, UNARMED NEGROES INVADE THE CAPITOL. The point is that in America the color of power is white and black is the color of weakness.

What was clear from the appearance of armed black men at the capitol is that blacks are no longer ruled by fear, that not only are blacks still ready to die but now they are ready to kill.

From another point of view the hysterical reaction of the legislators was ludicrous, because if the Black Panthers had come to the capitol with evil intentions, there would have been a lot of dead cops and legislators. The Panthers are an organization dedicated to defending Black people from the wanton aggression of the cops in particular and this white racist society in general.

Huey P. Newton, our Minister of Defense,sent a delegation to the capitol to deliver a message to black people, to warn them of the enveloping fascistic trend of this sick white society we live in. Black people received the message and history has been altered. A new standard has been raised, a new challenge has been thrown out to black people. The trumped up charges which have been lodged against the members of the delegation are a joke when compared to the lesson black people have drawn from that beautiful day. Let beauty burst forth like the first rays of the sun.

BROTHER Mark Comfort

OAKLAND, CALIF -- Mark Comfort, militant black organizer in East Oakland, won his second court victory last month. Testimony at the trials revealed that a police informer had led him into a trap resulting in his arrest.

Comfort's first arrest was on charges of Interfering with an Officer and Resisting Arrest. He had run out of his house at night to defend a neighboring family who were being assaulted by the Oakland police. Ajury found him innocent.

But the Oakland Police seem determined to get rid of him. Shortly after the first incident, Comfort was called up by a man named Gil Williams. Williams told Comfort that he knew some people in San Francisco who would give Comfort money for his legal defense. He offered to drive Comfort there. Then he asked Comfort to bring a gun "because the neighborhood is pretty rough."

Comfort, very aware of gun regulations, brought a small derringer pistol, which he stuck in his belt, visibly. Williams drove home, stayed inside for several minutes and reappeared with a shotgun. He then suggested that they go to Jim's Place, an Oakland bar, before going to San Francisco. Within 15 minutes after they entered the bar, police had pulled up, and arrested Comfort for having a "concealed weapon."

One of the arresting officers testified at the trial that the head of the Criminal Investigation Department gave him a warrant and told him that Comfort would be at Jim's Place within an hour. "I had never been to Jim's Place before," Comfort told THE MOVEMENT. "It turns out that the bar is owned by a white Oakland cop. When my attorney asked the cop on the stand if he knew Gil Williams, he didn't say a word for a long time and then said 'uh, no, I don't believe I know the name.' We're pretty sure he's working with the cops. He's gone into hiding now; we can't find him."

A hung jury ended the trial.

4MONTHS TO GO

On May 9 or 10, Comfort must go back to prison on a sentence given him last year, for his activity at the Oakland Tribune demonstrations. Comfort's appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court was not considered. He has over 4 months to serve. "We haven't stopped fighting," Mark told us. "My lawyer is filing a writ, so I may be in and back out again. R.J. Engle, my lawyer is a beautiful cat. He's handled all three of these cases and he's been great."

(reprinted from THE MOVEMENT May, 1967)

Mark Comfort was one of the 23 armed Black Panthers who were arrested in Sacramento on May 2nd, and are now charged with conspiracy. This is the latest example of Mark Comfort's continual participation in every significant and vital action for the freedom of black people. Mark is now in the Alameda County Jail at Santa Rita. The Supreme Court turned down his appeal on a case two or three years old, growing out of the courageous struggle waged against the racist Oakland Tribune. Mark was offered a 'deal' by the racist Power Structure. Faced with a four and one-half month sentence, Mark was offered two years of probation if he would agree not to associate with members of the Black Panthers or carry a gun. Mark scorned the insulting 'deal' and chose instead to suffer imprisonment. Black people must work harder for the day when we can prevent the racist Power Structure from inflicting unjust punishment on black people. Mark Comfort is one of the great heroes of the struggle for Black Liberation. When his name is spoken, we should feel proud to be his brothers and sisters.

POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the Pocket Lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes. You should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so).. But then do so, and at all times remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause, or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search- that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should clearly and unequivocally state that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause.

4. You may not resist arrest forceably or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circunstances. A false arrest may be corrected later.

5. If you are stopped, you should try to get independant witnesses to observe the proceedings, and get their names, addresses, and telephone numbers. Try to do this, if possible, before any arrest takes place.

6. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you for weapons by patting the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls - one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE, and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney <u>immediately</u>.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the fifth and the fourteenth amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsman's fee. if you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time ends on a weekend or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and they will furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.



SNCC WORKER SPEAKS TO A SISTER

A LETTER SISTER BALDWIN

I am very concerned about your mind, so I have sent you some literature about SNCC and black people hoping that you will read it and it will help you to get your mind together so you can understand what the struggle is all about. I don't want you to go out in the world and be a tool for white folks, or go and teach other children to deny their blackness, deny their people, and become whitewashed. Sister Baldwin, there are not very many good minds like yours in this North American wilderness, therefore I urge you, plead with you, lose your white mind and get your black mind together. Therefore I urge you not to read just the material I am sending you, but read these five black books: Autobiography of Malcolm X, Malcolm X Speaks, The Wretched of the Earth, by Franz Fanon, Black Bourgeoisie, by E. Franklin Frazier, and Souls of Black Folk, by W.E.B. DuBois.

You have been put in the same trickbag by the white man that thousands of other black people have been put in; try and get out of it. There are very few sisters on A&I's campus. Thank God you are one of them. Therefore I urge you to remove the cataract from your eyes so that you might see. Why question Black Power and don't question why so many blackmen are in jail in this country? Why question Black Power and not question why eleven black people were murdered in Chattanooga, Tenn. alone in 1965? Or why is it that 30% of the men getting killed in Vietnam are black? Or why is it that 500 black babies die each year in Birmingham for lack of proper medcal attention? Why is it that the unemployment rate for black men is rising while the income of white men is increasing? Why is it that the University of Tennessee is better than Tennessee State? Why did the government give Tennessee State only 1½ million dollars? Is that all that 6000 black minds are worth? In the same year they gave the University of Tennessee 14 million dollars. Stop questioning Black Power and look around you and see who is brainwashing you, and who is going to profit from your four years of college? Are you willing to do the same thing the white man has done for 400 years, sit next to white folks and look down at your black brothers and sisters and say, "I am better than you"? Who will your education benefit?

What are you going to do with your life, let Rockefeller use it or give it to your people? What is your role in the struggle? What is your role in your church to stand by and let white folks beat them out of thousands of dollars and not say anything? What is your role in relation to the thousands of your brothers who are being drafted every day to die in the mud of Vietnam for a white man's war? When thousands of black children go hungry, ragged and cold, are you one of those who is calling themselves an AKA and running around imitating white folks who are responsible for the plight of your people?

Therefore I urge you to come on home, Sister Baldwin. Millions of black people are depending on you and sisters like you to change their destiny. Will you let them down? Will you go somewhere and teach black children the white man's lies? Stop and look at yourself; stop and reconsider.

Yours for BLACK POWER,

Brother Ricks

WHITE BOY ARRESTED FOR LYING ON PANTHERS?

The papers have been full of wild stories about one of the witnesses who appeared before the Assembly Rules Committee that launched an investigation into security at the capitol in an atmosphere of white hysteria which greeted the visit to the capitol by armed members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. This white man once was a Sergeant-at-Arms, a cop, in the Assembly. According to the stories put out by the police, Tom McKay, 22, told that he was taking a legislator's carto a gasoline station for servicing May 2nd, when "this big fellow grabbed hold of my coat and says,'We're going to get you white boy.' I said to him, I'm just a flunky, I just work here."

We are not surprised to learn that a white cop had told lies, while under oath, designed to get black people into 'trouble'. What surprises us and what we can't figure out is why did the cops arrest this white man for lying on a 'bunch of niggers'? One paper quoted the arrested man as saying that "The Panthers voiced a threat against a certain legislator, who was not identified at the request of Assemblyman Don Mulford, R-Piedmont."

Now this is very interesting. Here we see a known liar engaged in keeping something secret between himself, the cops, and Assemblyman Mulford. How many more secrets do they have which they are keeping from the people?

Another thing about this entire affair is why did the cops arrange to have this white man, who has already been exposed as lying on the Black Panthers, scheduled to appear in court on May 18, the same day the Black Panthers are scheduled to appear? Because this is an obscure operation that has not all been made public, we wish to alert the public to the fact that we think that racist Assemblyman Don Mulford, in conjunction with the racist police and a lying white man, are involved in arranging a series of schemes designed to enable the white power structure to deal with the Black Panthers.

But no matter what lying scheme these racists come up with, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is going to grow in numbers, influence and power and there is nothing that a gang of racist dogs can do about it.

SISTERS' SECTION

SISTERS UNITE

by Barbara Auther

SISTERS UNITE. The Black Panther Party is where the BLACK MEN are. I know every black woman has to feel proud of black men who finally decided to announce to the world that they were putting an end to police brutality and black genocide. Then they were arrested even though they had not broken a law. The reason they were arrested, Sisters, is the white power structure does'nt want any brave men with guts enough to say, "Hell No," to the police force in self defense of their women, themselves and all our children. That's really telling the power structure "Like it is".

Become members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, Sisters, "we got a good thing going."

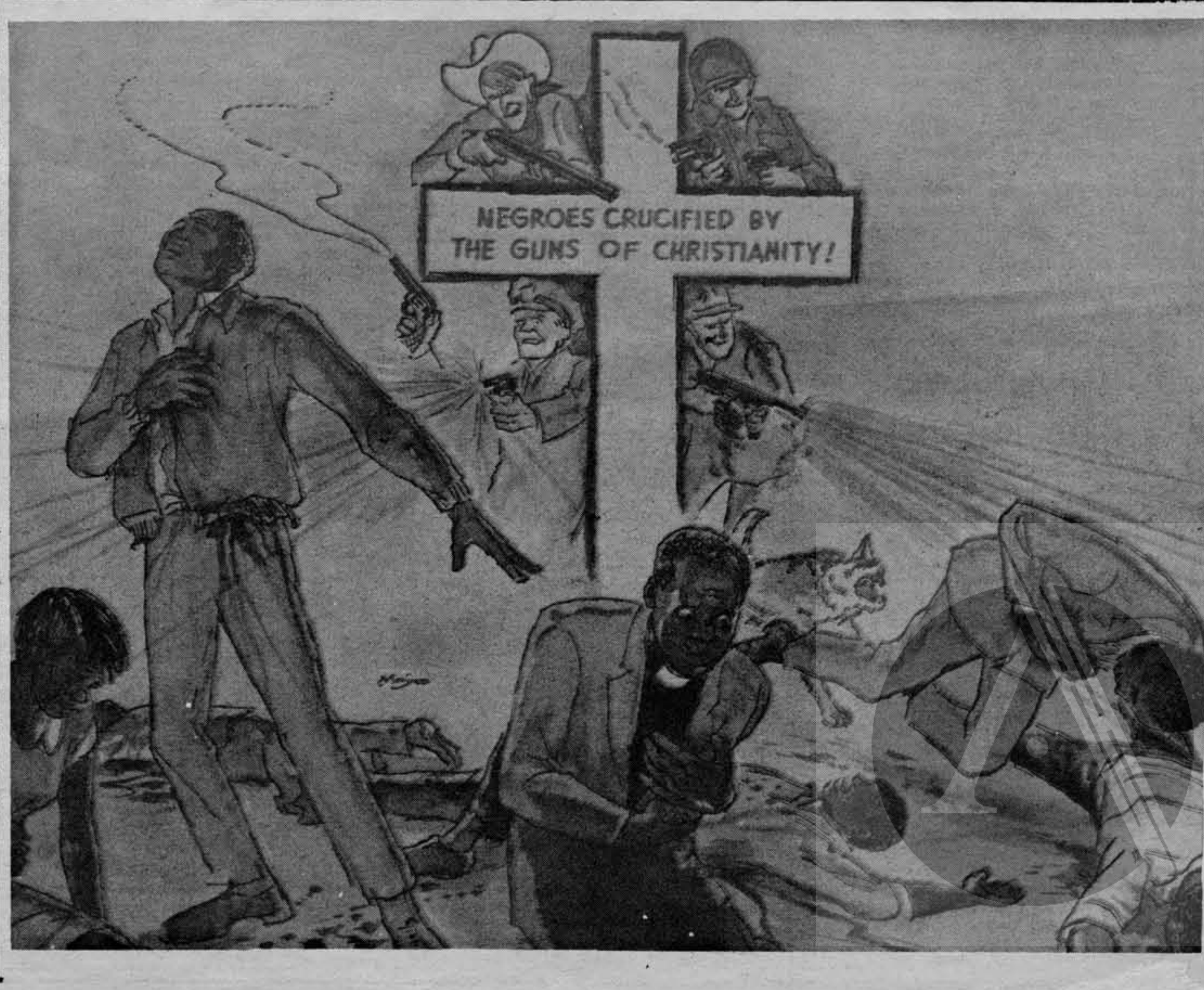


A REVOLUTIONARY SISTER

SISTER WILLIAMS SAYS

Respect and dignity have long been abstractions to the majority of Black Men. This is no longer the case. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense are Black Men with pride, self-respect and most of all love for their brother These Black Men who express fervor, spirit and boldness of heart kindle in me, a Black Woman, the feeling of wanting to help plan, work, experience, and most of all share not only these feelings with him but the togetherness of wanting and now going about getting our freedom together.

The illustration below is taken from the cover of MUHAMMAD SPEAKS newspaper (April 14, 1967). THE BLACK PANTHER feels that this work of art should be wide spread amongst black people, as it contains a message that must be understood.



BLACK ACTIVISTS IN AMERICA

AN EXERPT FROM A SOON-TO-BE-RELEASED PAMPHLET BY THE BLACK PANTHER PERTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

The black American has tried to play the game of the reasonable peaceful man only to find that he has been dealing with a ruthless despot clothed in the sanctions of state or federal laws that are invariably footnoted: "But not for the Negro." The Constitution of the U.S.A. was written for white folks; not for black folks. America has found it necessary (year after meaningless year) to pass or debate the passage of "civil rights legislation" for its oldest Americans (second only to those of American Indian ancestry). Historically the Negro has been viewed as a thing, not as a man with God given rights, and this kind of thinking seems to permeate even the thinking of today. During the Constitutional Convention (May to September, 1787) the founding fathers did not concern themselves with the Negro Man, but rather the Negro Beast of Burden. The major question regarding him was not human rights or even the most minimal protection, but rather, who would regulate slavery---the States or the Federal government. In spite of all the foregoing, the Negro has tried to deal with whites in a peaceful process. He has tried to deal with the white man through the ballot; that hasn't worked. He has tried reason and morality; that hasn't worked. He has tried integration; that hasn't worked. Marcus Garvey even attempted a mass exodus but was sabotaged by the white man. Blacks have been systematically denied any chance to gain economic power. Slave labor and cheap labor has been the rule rather than the exception. In spite of all this the black man has tried to be at peace with the system--even in his freedom movement. The time has come (all else having failed) to use some stronger stuff. Now is the time of the ballot or the bullet.

The black man, like the black panther, having retreated as far as possible within the realm of honor, can no longer retreat (he will not turn and run), he must stand and fight. He retreated for the sake of peace; this having failed, and finding himself still crowded by his enemy, he is preparing to spring. And when he springs, there is no retreat. Let there be life or let there be death; what does it matter? For life is death and to die is to live; and that's where it's at. The young black activists are beginning to say the black man will not be the tool of a system that only uses him for its own perpetuation while it continues its violations of the humanity of black people. The time has come when the black man is turning to his black brother in an effort to meet the man head on. He is not going to take any more bull shit; he is beginning to think in terms of living or dying as a man. Youthful blacks (and some not so youthful) are beginning to realize that the black cannot beg or reason off his chains, he must take them off by whatever means necessary. The teachings of Malcolm are alive---black men must arm themselves in order to defend against the aggressor. The black man is beginning to realize that there are two kinds of politics: Voting is politics without bloodshed, and war is politics with bloodshed. The black is beginning to realize that both may be required in his struggle for human rights. A political act must carry consequences; if it does not, then it is not truly a political act. The black man must become a political man who forces consequences when his political decisions are not honored. This is the attitude of the black activist of today. This is what the symbol (Black Panther) means; it is catching on and it is spreading. These militant individuals and groups are springing forth across the United States. (e.g. OAAU on the East Coast----Black Panther Party in the southern United States---US and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense on the West Coast) and unless things get better (and fast), it is reasonable to expect them to grow--to spread.

The core city is becoming more and more heavily populated by black people; as a result, his political power will be felt there. He will be able to elect political representatives and he will be able to hold such political representatives accountable to the black community. Uncle Tom will be dead...there is no room in the black community for a "white man's nigger." The black activists are attempting to show the black man how to make positive use of close proximity to his own people. Black people are in a strange and hostile land; the ghetto must be used as a bastion (physically, politically, and spiritually). The ghetto must not be a brothel which affords kicks for frustrated or perverted whites. It must no longer allow itself to meet the sadistic needs of the cop, the masochistic needs of Miss Ann, the carthartic needs of Mr. Charley. That day must end. Such are the aims of the new black activists who are building on the program laid down by Malcolm X. True, these programs are still in the making. They are being worked out step by step...in action as well as theory. They are not crystal clear, not absolutely predictable. But let us not delude ourselves; the black man has set affot a new man. He knows his enemy; he knows the terrain; he knows the danger, but he will not be cowed. Whereas traditionally the black activist has concentrated on bringing the statutes to his defense, he now turns to his brothers in suffering...the masses who have the most to gain through social progress. He can be found teaching his brothers in basements, store fronts, shacks, and street corners. He speaks of Chairman Mao, Malcolm X, and Franz Fanon. The black man represents the hope for a new America... a truly democratic America. If he fails, America will become truly a zombie...a blind, worn out, crippled whore with no place to go.

REMEMBER THE WORDS OF BROTHER MALCOLM X

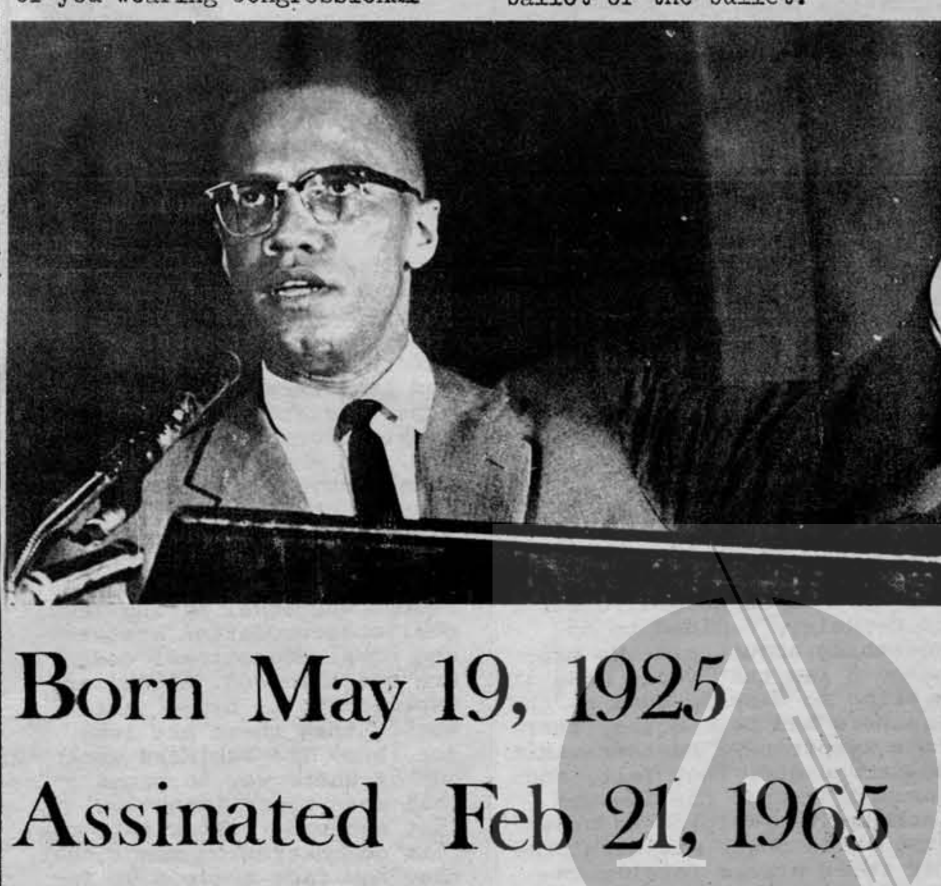
THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ARE EXERPTS FROM MALCOLM'S SPEECH "THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET", GIVEN IN CLEVELAND, APRIL 3,1964.



...I must say this concerning the great controversy over rifles and shotguns. the only thing that I've ever said is that in areas where the government has proven itself either unwilling or unable to defend the lives and the property of Negroes, it's time for Negroes to defend themselves. Article number twoof the constitutional amendments provides you and me the right to own a rifle or a shotgun. It is constitutionally legal to own a shotgun or a rifle. This doesn't mean you're going to get a rifle and form batalions and go out looking for white folks, although you'd be within your rights - I mean you'd be justified; but that would be illegal. If the white man doesn't want the black man buying rifles and shotguns, then let the government do its job. That's all. And don't let the white man come to you and ask you what you think about what Malcolm says - why, you old Uncle Tom. He would never ask you if he thought you were going to say, "Amen!" No, he is making a Tom out of you.

So, this doesn't mean forming rifle clubs and going out looking for people, but it is time, in 1964, if you are a man, to let that man know. If he's not going to do his job in running the government and providing you and me with the protection that our taxes are supposed to be for, since he spends all those billions for his defense budget, he certainly can't begrudge you and me spending $12 or $15 for a single-shot or double-action. I hope you understand. Don't go out shooting people, but any time, brothers and sisters, and especially the men in this audience-some of you wearing Congressional Medals of Honor, with shoulders this wide, chests this big, muscles that big- any time you and I sit around and read where they bomb a church and murder in cold blood, not some grown-ups, but four little girls while they were praying to the same god the white man taught them to pray to, and you and I see the government go down and can't find who did it.

Why, this man-he can find Eichmann hiding down in Argentina somewhere. Let two or three American soldiers, who are minding somebody else's business way over in South Vietnam, get killed, and he'll send battleships, sticking his nose in their business. He wanted to send troops down to Cuba and make them have what he calls free elections-this old cracker who doesn't have free elections in his own country. No, if you ever see me another time in your life, if I die in the morning, I'll die saying one thing: the ballot or the bullet, the ballot or the bullet.



Born May 19, 1925

Assinated Feb 21, 1965

MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE BRINGING YOUR DREAMS TO REALITY



UNDAUNTED RELATIVES OF THE VICTIMS OF SACRAMENTO POLICE PERSECUTION

(The following article was written by a black man who felt that for the time being it would be best for him to remain unnamed.)

There are different kinds of law. Some laws are on the books but never enforced while others that are enforced have never been written. Policemen have a habit of charging people with crimes of their own invention. Sometimes a police department gets so far out that one of its unwritten laws is declared unconstitutional by a court. Most of the time, police don't get hung up with the Constitution. They know that modern police work demands that they be good at bending existing laws to meet their purposes. And, when the bending gets tiresome, they lobby to get their law passed.

When a delegation of Black Panthers showed up at the San Francisco International Airport in February to protect Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow, policemen went running to their law books. They knew there damn well ought to be a law preventing black men who didn't even wear uniforms from going around armed. They were so shocked to find that there wasn't a law to cover that situation that they allowed the Panthers and Betty Shabazz to leave unmolested.

Even the Richmond police couldn't find the proper law, and they have effectively used law to control the actions of Negroes for a number of years. Richmond police met a 30-man armed Panther group in April. They had gone to Richmond to discuss with police the problems that develop when white cops shoot unarmed Black boys. Richmond police, like the San Mateo Sheriff before them, discovered that the law covers concealed weapons. The Panthers' firepower was very much in evidence, something that was frightening to the police, but not yet illegal.

Assemblyman Mulford, who usually acts as though his ambition is to become Fuhrer of Berkeley, decided to do something about this. He proposed a law that would make it a crime to display guns as the Panthers had been doing, therefore inspiring a Panther visit to Sacramento. They felt, and announced, that the law was another item helping to prove that white power wielders prefer their Blacks totally unarmed and completely available for whatever terror might be directed toward them by policemen, National Rifle Association boosters, Minutemen or stray racists who want to fill an idle hour. Well, Assemblyman Mulford almost swallowed his napalm chewing gum when he looked up to find that the Panthers had revived an early American protest. You might call it a gun-in.

The state police were completely unprepared. Those in the capitol are supposed to protect the assemblymen from harm. Apparently there aren't enough people in the state who really know what their assemblymen are doing in Sacramento to constitute a threat. Guarding the assembly became the nearest thing to retirement. Suddenly they were jolted to see 23 men, very Black and very armed, moving into the assembly chambers. To add to it, the Panthers didn't even remove their hats.

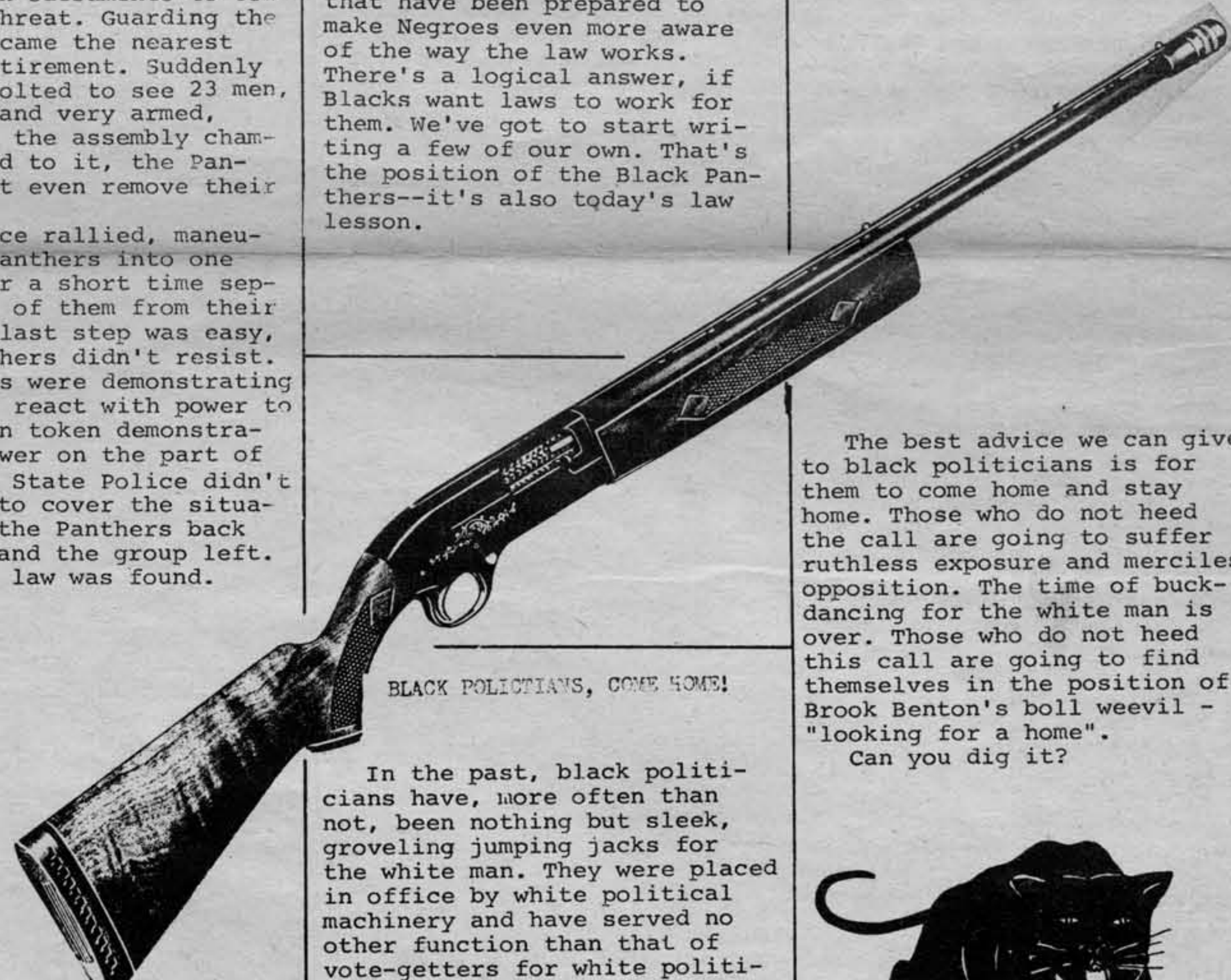
The police rallied, maneuvered the Panthers into one room and for a short time separated some of them from their guns. This last step was easy, as the Panthers didn't resist. The Panthers were demonstrating that whites react with power to prevent even token demonstrations of power on the part of Blacks. The State Police didn't find a law to cover the situation, gave the Panthers back their guns and the group left. But then, a law was found.

Minutes after leaving the Capitol building, Sacramento City Police arrested 23 Panthers on a variety of charges. Later, these were dropped, and they were all charged with conspiracy to disturb the assembly. Conspiracy is a felony, and what places like Soledad and San Quentin are all about.

It has already been demonstrated that a law is not a law when it protects Negroes. That's why equal hiring laws, public accomodation statutes and equal educational codes are not enforced. Blacks are expected to be happy just seeing that there are laws for them. The Panthers went out of their way to prove that when there is no law, that somebody will create one. This demonstration means that they now face trumped up felony charges.

Separate bu equal used to be the law of the land. It didn't work out that way, as Negroes are becoming convinced that equality and an equalizer have something in common. They are suspicious of a set of laws which ends up with only certain classes of people carrying guns. When some of these are Black, they have white officers.

The Black experience with the law is that it is often used to the disadvantage of the race. The lessons of history, the possible threat of racial annihilation and the very real concentration camps that have been prepared to make Negroes even more aware of the way the law works. There's a logical answer, if Blacks want laws to work for them. We've got to start writing a few of our own. That's the position of the Black Panthers--it's also today's law lesson.



BLACK POLITCIANS, COME HOME!

In the past, black politicians have, more often than not, been nothing but sleek, groveling jumping jacks for the white man. They were placed in office by white political machinery and have served no other function than that of vote-getters for white politicians at election time.

When the white man wanted to pull a fast one on black people, he called out his bootlicking black politicians to voice an opinion supporting the action taken or contemplated. These conscienceless black tools did not care about the suffering of the black masses. All they were concerned with was their own standard of living - which was very high compared to that of other blacks. While the black masses wasted away in the slums and ghettoes, dying from lack of adequate clothing, shelter, and proper medical attention, living worthless lives because of the lack of proper educational facilities, black politicians ate good food, wore the best of clothes, lived in fine homes, and sent their children to the best schools.

It is true that not all black politicians were always this way, but it has been true often enough to make the exceptions in history stand out like blonde hair on a black woman. But times have changed. The black masses are on the march for Black Power. We hope that black politicians do not think that the cry for Black Power offers them another ticket to a higher standard of living while the black masses remain stuck in the mud of white America. Neither should black politicians think that they can get away with paying lip-service to the rhetoric of Black Power while actually continuing to play dirty white politics with the welfare and destiny of the black masses. Such corrupt games are no longer possible. Politicians who are stupid enough to think that they can still get away with tricks and lies are in for a rude awakening - to say the least.

The best advice we can give to black politicians is for them to come home and stay home. Those who do not heed the call are going to suffer ruthless exposure and merciless opposition. The time of buck-dancing for the white man is over. Those who do not heed this call are going to find themselves in the position of Brook Benton's boll weevil - "looking for a home".

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